WASHINGTON.

"LIBERTY AND UNION, NOW AND FOREVER, ONE AND

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1863.

A DEFENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

In his first message to Congress, called to meet in extraordinary session on the 4th of July, 1861. President Lincoln held the following language:

"Lest there be some unessiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the Government to-wards the Southern States, after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Conwill be his purpose th n, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people, under the Constitution, than that expressed In the inaugural address. He desires to preserve the Government, that it may be administered for all, as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens every where have the right to claim this of their Government; and the Government has no right to withhold or neglect it.

It is not perceived that, in giving it, there is any coercion,
any conquest, or any subjugation, in any just sen se of those
terms."

In the opening words of the preliminary "Proclamation of Freedom," issued on the 22d of September, 1862, the President, as if anxious to preclude the inference that he meant thereby to change the object of the war, was careful to declare "that hereofter as heretofore the war will be prose outed for the object of practically restoring the con stitutional relation between the United States and each of THE STATES and the people thereof in which States THAT RELATION is or may be suspended or disturbed." This is "the object" of the war as the President understands it-to restore the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States in which that relation is now suspended or disturbed.

In the President's reply to a communication from the Hon. Fernando Wood, of New York, who had imparted to him some information to the effect "that the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress provided that a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so." the President, under date of last December 12th, held the following explicit and conclusive lan-

"I strongly suspect your information will prove to be groundless; nevertheless, I thank you for communicating it to me. Understanding the phrase in the paragraph above quoted—the Southern States would send representatives quoted—'the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress'—to be substantially the same as that 'the people of the Southern States would cease resistance, and would reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limits of such States, under the Constitution of the United States,' I say that is such case the war would cease on the part of the United States: and that if within a reasonable time 'a full and g neral amnesty' were necessary to such end, it would not be withheld."

In the President's Letter addressed to the Springfield Republican Convention in the early part of the present month, he wrote as follows, as if to exclude the cavil or objection on the part of political opponents that he had any design to continue the war for the purpose of emancipation after the declared object of the war shall have been reached in a restoration of the Union. To this effect the President said :

"You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you. But no matter; fight you then exclusively to save the Union. I issued the pro-clamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes."

We have arranged these uniform declarations of the President in the order of their chronology, for the purpose of showing that his policy under this war is waged for the avowed purpose of " practically restoring the constitutional relation between the United States and each of the States in which that relation has been suspended or disturbed:" and when the people of the Southern States "shall cease resistance and reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limits of said States under the Constitution of the United States, the war will cease on the part of the United States." If any say "they will not fight to free negroes," to such the President replies, " No matter; fight you then exclusively to save the Union, and when you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes."

In all these separate declarations we have an ex plicit and unmistakable avowal of the President's purpose to regard the war as at an end just so soon as all resistance to the Union shall have been conquered. And we have cited them in their single clearness and collective force for the purpose of setting in a strong light the true relations borne to the present Administration by those who, while professing to support it, are found in opposition to its most fundamental ides. For surely it will not be said that the Administration has any idea more fundamental or primary than that which relates to the "object of the war." Those who are not with it in this grand issue are against it. All, for instance, who hold with Mr. Whiting, that the ordinances of secession, and the "territorial civil war" now raging in consequence of them, have availed to annul the rights of the insurgent States under the Constitution, and have "obliterated all lines of States" in the insurgent district, are just as clearly the political opponents of the President as they are, in the language of a member of his Cabinet, "the aiders and abettors of the Confederates." Indeed, it would be a grievous reproach to the Administration if any class of persons could be "aiders and abettors of the Con federates" without being at the same time enemies of the Administration

In this matter it gives us pleasure to "stand by the President" and to "support the Administration." Our only grief is that in doing so we are compelled to struggle against so many in public or official place who, as regards this fundamental question, are his political enemies, and, as the " aiders and abettors of the Confederates," necessarily the enemies of the country. It is obvious that we cannot defend the President and uphold the Constitution without assailing the men who openly renounce his policy and substitute a revolutionary doctrine which makes a tabula rasa of the very country (the insurgent district) within which he is proposing to restore practically the constitutional relation that exists between the United

It is impossible for any one to affect ignorance of B re.

as to the avowed policy of the President under this head, and all who oppose or dispute it, do so with the full knowledge that they make themselves anti-Administrationists. The Executive and Legislative Departments of the Government have since the outbreak of the war down to the present time, continuously and uniformly acted on the the ory that all ordinances of secession were legal nullities, and that the States in the insurgent district had their rights and relations to the Constitution and the Union in no wise destroyed by such pretended acts, but that those rights and relations have been simply, as the President properly describes it, "suspended or disturbed" by the violence of faction and war. Any other theory con cedes the whole matter in dispute between the Government and the insurgents, and makes over the palladium of the latter into the hands of the former. As is well said by a friend of the Administration, Mr. Coombs, in a speech delivered before the Union League of this city :

"Our Government is, and has been ever since this rebellion has existed, daily doing acts which recognise, in the most unequivocal manner, the rebellious States as still being members of the Federal Union. We accord to the loyal citizens of those States all the rights, privileges, franchises, and immunities of citizens of the United States. We appoint them to offices which none but citizens of the United States are eligible to fill. We accord to them other rights, which none but citizens of a State in the Union are entitled to under the Constitution; among which is the right of representation in Congress, whenever which is the right of representation in Congress, whenever and wherever they find themselves able to exercise that right by electing members. If they are still, in law, States of this Union, then it is impossible for the remaining States to modify the Constitution, except in an unconstitutional way, and that would be simply revolution."

The people of Tennessee, says Mr. Whiting, are all public enemies, and Tennessee, as a State has ceased to exist. And yet a portion of the people of Tennessee were represented in the last Congress. The people of Louisiana are all indiscriminately, by virtue of "territorial civil war." nothing less than public enemies, and Louisiana, as a State, has ceased to exist. And yet almost the closing act of the last House of Representatives was to admit two members of Congress chosen from two Congressional districts in this State. The people of Virginia, says Mr. Whiting, are all public enemies, and Virginia, as a State, has ceased to exist. And yet the last Senate embraced on its roll the names of two Senators from Virginia, and the House of Representatives embraced among its members good and loyal men who sat among their fellow-members as accepted delegates from Virginia. And, as if to explode both the practical and theoretical absurdity of this whole secession dogma, as adopted by the advocates of the theory which obliterates State lines, the last Congress, by a most solemn act, ratified the measures taken by the Lo gislature of Virginia (sitting at Wheeling) for the erection of a new State within the jurisdiction of that State. The constitutional provision under which this Congressional assent was given is in the following words:

"New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well

If Virginia, as a State, has ceased to exist, then the action of Congress in ratifying the proceedings of the so-called "Legislature of Virginia," which purported to give consent to the partition of the State, was not only a fraud but a legal impossibili ty. And all who voted for that measure, as well as the President who approved it, are, by neces sary implication, according to the logic of Mr. Whiting and his coadjutors, guilty of having confirmed the action of "public enemies;" for the Legislature at Wheeling assumed to be, and were admitted by the Congress and the Executive to be "the Legislature of Virginia." And now, in the face of this proceeding, there are those who would stultify the members of the last Congress and the President himself by affirming that the territorial civil war has "obliterated State lines," and that Virginia, as a State, had ceased to exist at the very time when what purported to be her action was ra tified by the Legislative and Executive Departments of the Government.

We are, therefore, fully warranted in holding all who espouse this revolutionary doctrine to be the enemies of the Administration, as they must necessarily be the enemies of the country, if they are the "aiders and abettors of the Confederates." As such we esteem them, and as such we shall treat them-defending the Administration, as far as we are able, from the odium brought upon it by some in public and official place, who do not scruple to advocate this Anti-Administration doctrine, and defending the Constitution from a dogma which, in its very statement, betrays the cause of the Union by identifying its confessors with the "Confederates," whose dialect they speak and whose insurgent violence they morally "aid and abet"

LEGAL TENDER NOTES CONSTITUTIONAL. The Court of Appeals of the State of New York, now i session at Albany, has decided that the legal tender notes issued by the National Government are constitutional This decision affirms a decision in the seventh judicial dis trict of New York, and overrules one made in another dis trict of that State. It is of importance as settling a vexed question and removing doubts that have been frequently expressed as to the constitutionality of this currency. The matter was brought before the court in the case of the Metropolitan and Shoe and Leather Banks against Mr. Van Dyck, Superintendent of the Bank Department. Six of the Judges concurred in the decision of the court, whilst two-Judge Den'o and Judge Selden-dissented from it.

DECISION IN HABEAS CORPUS CASES.

On Saturday morning last Judge SPRAGUE gave a decision in the United States District Court, Boston, in the case of the five persons held for military service by General Devens, and who had asked for write of habeas corpus, one claiming to be a felon, one an alien, and the three others minors. It was urged by the counsel for the defendants that the President's proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus did not apply to such cases. The Judge concluded his opinion by saying that the object tions made by the counsel in these cases to the application of the proclamation cannot prevail, and he was precluded from further inquiry by the preclamation, and if any of the parties before him were entitled to relief they must seek it from the officers or the tribunals able by law to grant it. The prisoners were then remanded to the custody of Gen. Devens, to be taken back to the camp at Long

GENERAL SCHENCK.

Major General SCHENCK having obtained leave of absence from the command of the Middle Department, in order to enable him take his seat in Congress, the President has ordered Brig. Gen. ERASTUS B. TYLER to assum the command in Baltimore during his absence. General States and each of the States and people thereof. Tyler has been for some time commander of the Defences THE INTOLERANCE OF FACTION.

We yesterday referred to the fierce opposition waged against the President in Missouri by the Radical Emancipationists—a party truly characterized by the New York Times when it says that the men who lead and control it "preach as much contempt for national authority and encourage as much hatred and opposition to the officers of the Administration as ever did the rebels themselves; and they do not scruple to advise volunteer and awless organizations to defeat the regular work of he Administration." While thus resisting the constituted authorities of the country, they indulge, as we showed, in the personal abuse and political misrepresentation of all who do not co-operate with them in their revolutionary schemeslenouncing them as "copperheads," "traitors," pro-slavery rebels," &c. That our readers may ee what class of men are embraced in this category, we copy from the St. Louis Union the followng analysis of a recent communication that appeared in the St. Louis Democrat, the organ of this anti-Administration party of Radical Emancipationists. Our contemporary says:

"Some one, who does not write usually for the Dem crat, has written an article for that paper, the burden of which is to prove that President Lincoln, Montgomery aster General, and Edward Bates, Attorne General, are 'pro-slavery' men. Mr. Bates, who, long years ago, not only emancipated his slaves, but previously educated them, is nevertheless a 'pro-slavery' man. Montgemery Blair, who never in his life was known to utter a ro-slavery sentiment, and whose utterances have been as the roughly anti-slavery as language is capable of, is also a 'pro-slavery' man—'not sound,' in the opinion of our Jacobins.

"Mr. Lincoln, who has issued the emancipation pro-

clamation, is of doubtful character, pursues a 'conservative,' 'pro-slavery' policy, is ruining the country by his
temporizing course in regard to the slavery question.
Frank Blair, who has manumitted more slaves than there
are men of the least common sense in the whole Jacobin
party, is of doubtful character on the negro question. He
too is suspected of being 'pro-slavery!'

"Frank Blair, whose naked but manly heart has been
the voluntary target for all the bullets in rebeldom on
twenty bloody fields, is, in the opinion of the Missouri
Democrat, a 'copperhead,' a 'traitor.'

"And so it is they misrepresent and calumniate the
President and Cabinet to-day, publishing against them the
most deliberate falsehoods, and to-morrow we find them
on their knees begging for office—office."

We adduce this exhibition of the political misepresentations habitually circulated by the antislavery factionists in Missouri against President Lincoln and a portion of his Cabinet merely for the purpose of setting in a clear light the pointlessness of these political accusations, which constitute with a certain class of men the chief resources of their "argumentation." Not to pronounce their shibboleth is to prove one's self a traitor," and not to concur in all their projects for the removal of slavery is to prove one's self a friend of that institution. Hence we see a man like Mr. Bates, the present honored Attorney General of the Government, denounced as "a proslavery man," though, as our Missouri contemporary says, he, "long years ago, not only emancipated his slaves, but previously educated them." The present Postmaster General, too, the Hon. Montgomery Blair, "a man who never in his life was known to utter a pro-slavery sentiment," is now classed by these extremists with the "allies and friends of rebel slaveholders."

It is known to our readers that this journal has not escaped a similar style of vituperation and misrepresentation, because we have felt it our duty on nore occasions than one to lift our voice in protest against measures which, nominally initiated in the name of humanity to the slave, or under the pretext of military necessity, have seemed to us unwarranted by the Constitution, or injurious alike to the welfare of the country and of the dependant class whose condition it is proposed to change. Instead of meeting our arguments under this head, it has been held enough among a certain class of politicians to attribute them to "pro-slavery inspirations" or "pro slavery predilections." We have so little respect for a style of discussion which undertakes to dispose of arguments by attaching opprobrious epithets to those who urge them, and, moreover, the course of this paper, in its habitual opposition to all the political operations and proects of the pro-slavery propagandists is so well known, that we have never bestowed any attention on these weak attempts to turn the points in controversy between us and any who may differ from us in regard to recent measures of public policy supposed to concern the welfare of the slave.

A sufficient answer to such allegations is found in the fact that since the origin of the pro-slavery fanaticism on the one hand and of the anti-slavery fanaticism on the other, we have steadily set our faces like a flint against both the one and the other whenever each has culminated in measures which have seemed to us unauthorized or inexpedient. For many years the councils of the country were swayed by political leaders who, in our judgment, sought unduly to play on the sensibilities of the Slaveholding States, and who originated measures of public policy avowedly in the interest of slavery, sometimes for its protection from apprehended danger and sometimes for its perpetuation where it exists and for its extension to new territory. It was in pursuance of this policy that the annexation of Texas was carried, that war on Mexico was waged, that the Congressional protection of slavery in the Territories was demanded, that the Missouri compromise was repealed, and that similar measures of political agitation were pressed upon the public attention in the name of doing justice to the South. We do not need to say that each and all of these measures found in the National Intelli gencer a determined opponent, and for the earnestness with which we resisted them it was our fortune to incur the denunciations of the pro-slavery fanatics who had assumed the guardianship of "Southern Rights" and "Southern Interests." Believing as we did that the welfare of the country and of the South was equally involved in the defeat of measures advocated rather on sectional than national grounds, we could not do otherwise than oppose their adoption, at whatever risk of offending the susceptibilities of the Southern people or at whatever cost, because compelled to resist a policy which then predominated in the councils of the nation. It would have been as easy to drift with the current then as it would be easy to do so now, but we judged something to be due to our honest convictions of public duty then as we judge something to be due on the same grounds at the present time, when a different policy predominates in the public councils, and when, it seems to us, some men are in danger of pressing an antislavery fanaticism to hurtful conclusions and pur-

ed sentiment is seen in the State of Missouri, where its patrons and confessors are found arrayed n active and unrelenting hostility not only to the Constitution and the laws, (which they openly con temn as "effete,") but to the Administration and its agents, both civil and military. The exacting spirit which once possessed the pro-slavery fanaties has entered into these anti-slavery zealots. All who do not yield to their behests and talk in their dialect are reviled as "rebels" and "traitors" and pro-slavery advocates," as though such epithets could bring any terrors to men who, under a different régime, were not seriously disturbed when they heard themselves denounced as "abolitionists," and as "false to the South" because recog nising the existence of other "rights" than those of slavery. As is well said by a contemporary, "it is easy to be extreme. It is only those that examine and reflect that find difficulties; only the conscientious and careful that have their judgments moderated by checks and balances. This is true in the most trivial occurrences of life, and equally true in the most vital public affairs. In all matters concerning which men are prone to form parties-in religion and politics, for instance-those who have neither the opportunity nor ability to derive opinions from investigation are usually the most confident, zealous, and intolerant in the advocacy of such dogmas as their party may have adopted." But in these matters wisdom is justified of her children." and in the light of past history we can clearly perceive that wisdom has not always spoken through the mouths

WHOLESALE ABDUCTION IN MARYLAND.

cal reason in the affairs of men.

of partisans and zealots devoted to a single pre-

dominant idea; for they, least of all, bring to their

judgments that screnity of temper and clearness of

understanding which are the conditions of practi-

An intelligent resident of Washington, just re turned from a brief tour on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, communicates the following account of what he saw and heard in that oppressed portion of the State. We can only express our extreme surprise that these most irritating and injurious violations of the laws of the State and the rights of its people by military subordinates have not been put a stop to by the Government:

"The abduction of slaves from the Eastern Shore of Maryland went on during the whole of last week with unrelenting vigor and energy, and all notwithstanding the in whose name they assumed to speak might have exertions of prominent loyal citizens and alleged pledges preserved peaceful relations long enough to promade in a high quarter to the contrary. Amongst those who are reported to have had interviews with the civil and military authorities of the Government, in order to have a slaves so essential to the agricultural operations of the of all the States. It was by General Convention Eastern Shore, Ex-Governor and now Senator Hicks held of all the States that they had been bound together prominent place. Rumor has it that he was successful under the Constitution. It was only by a similar obtaining from the President a promise that the speliation suffered by the farmers of the counties east of the Chesapeake Bay should not be continued, but that from people, that they could be peacefully unbound and the Secretary of War the most that could be had was that released from their obligations. But, when they the threatened visit of a negro regiment-composed in part sought to cut this Gordian knot with the sword, of Eastern Shore negroes -to their former homes, should be delayed two or three weeks.

"Certain it is that the worst anticipations seen up slave property along the coasts of Queen Anne's, rate violence and anarchy in the place of rightful Talbot, and Dorchester counties. About six hundred slaves have been carried away against their owners' wills from Talbot alone, and on Friday last the Cecil transported from Cambridge to Baltimore about one hundred slave negro men who were gathered from Dor- ern disunionists. We allude to those who promised chester county. Scores of farms have been suddenly strip- them impunity in their schemes because, as it was ped of their best labor, whilst few or none but helpless said, any armed resistance to their revolutionary women and children are left behind for their owners to feed and support as best they can. On one estate, where dred women and children lest to shift for themselves What renders this the more embarrassing to agricultural proceedings is the total absence of white labor which might fill the place of the slave peasantry. A large portion of a most fertile and valuable region must go untilled the next year, and great private and public losses be the

"It is stated that promises of considerable sums of me ney to the negro men, with other seductive offers, are among the most common means used to entice them from their owners; in some cases force is menaced for the pur nose. Thus a farm will be visited after nightfall by an fficer and one or two men in military uniform. The owner will be notified that his servant has 'volunteered,' and that must ever resist the right of any State to remain in the a military party have come to take him off. Of course resistance on the part of the master is out of the question. as he is always caught unawares.

"The bounty usually promised to each male negro slave s one hundred dollars, whilst the white man who recruits nim gets two dollars for his share in the proceeding ; but there is a doubt whether the white parties into whose hands the bounty is placed always deliver to the recruited gather money for the special abolishment of slavery in Maryland. The amount collected by the company is understood to reach \$100,000, and that it is out of this fund that the newspaper and other aiders and abettors of these lave abductions are paid for their labors.

"It is worthy of remark that, notwithstanding these inroads and mjuries upon the property of the people, not a word has been uttered going to encourage the hope that he Federal tax bills would be diminished one dollar."

A letter from Dorchester has the following: "Yesterday I could scarcely avoid crying, to say nothing worse, to see gentlemen of this town and the neighborhood standing in groups, powerless to prevent te abduction of their slaves. The night before a steamer anchored in the river and the next morning, as though to the town in search of slaves. Miles of corn I have seen standing upgathered for want of hands, there being no substitutes for the slaves thus abducted."

The Chestertown News of Saturday says:

" A steamboat from Baltimore arrived off Eastern Neck laland, in the lower part of this county, on Sunday last, for the purpose of carrying away slaves for enlistment in the army. It seems that the negroes had previous notice of the coming of the boat, and flocked to the shore in such crowds that many had to be left behind. The nur per carried off is estimated at from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, including nearly every able-bodied slave in Eastern Neck. Those remaining repaired to the wharf at Gray's Inn Creek on Monday morning, for the purpose f taking passage to Baltimore on the steamer but the captain refused to take them, and, assisted by the sitizens, prevent d them from going aboard."

FROM GEN. BURNSIDE'S ARMY. CINCINNATI, SEPT. 28 .- News from Kooxville up to ast Thursday has been received. Gen. Burnside still had his headquarters at that place. There were no signs of any rebel movements into East Tennessee. The rebel force under Gen Jones was keeping close to the Virginia upon an expedition into Southwestern Virgina, from which very important results were expected.

A BRITISH FLEET AT NEW YORK. NEW YORK, SEPT. 29 .- The British ship-of the-line Nile, Admiral Milne on board; the British steam-frigate Immortalite; and the British dispatch boat Nimbie, have poses. The legitimate tendency of this exaggerat- arrived at this port; also, the French frigate Guerriere.

POLITICAL DELUSIONS.

It is known to our readers that when the Southern Disunionists "precipitated the Cotton States into revolution" they deluded the great mass of the people in those States by a variety of promises. Foremost among these was the prediction that the revolution would be accomplished without bleodshed, because, in the first place, as "Cotton was this Uni of Europe could not permit the outbreak of any hostilities which might have for their effect to deprive them of a staple whose abundant supply was the condition of their own social and political stability. They would, therefore, promptly interfere to prevent any attempt of "the North" to coerce "the South." The revolution would be bloodless In the second place, it was said that the Northern Democracy, who had so long defended what was called the "constitutional rights" of the South, could at least "keep the peace" between the two sections by staying the hands of any in the North who might persuade a resort to coercion. But, in fact, the Northern Democracy had never

engaged to sustain their Southern political allies in

any schemes for the violent dismemberment of the Union; and when the latter began the war by firing on the national flag and capturing Fort Sumter there was an end of all interposition on the part not only of Northern Democrats, but of Northern Conservatives, to procure a peaceful solution of difficulties which the D supion leaders had deliberately chosen to decide by the sword. Before this and similar acts of violence had been perpetrated against the peace and dignity of the nation there were many and earnest voices lifted up in all parts of the land in favor of the longest possible absti nence from an armed collision between the National Government and those "disaffected citizens" of the Republic to whom President Lincolu made appesl in his Inaugural Address. And until the attack upon Fort Sumter the present Administration, after its accession to power, maintained an attitude of expectation. It did not join issue with the secessionists until they had made their appeal to the law of violence, and had thus forced upon the National Government the necessity of either defending itself or of accepting its right to live at the hands of armed con pirators against its very existence. And it is probable that if the disunion leaders had abstained from alteriolence, the States cure at the hands of the adhering States an eventual recognition of their independence, to be obtoppage put to the ruthless abduction of the able-bodied tained by arrangements concerted in a Convention Convention, whose work should be ratified by the and turned an armed hand against the Union, the hand of every friend of the Government was neceshose most likely to be reslized. The steamboat Cecil sarily turned against them; for to desert the Govwas every day last week busily engaged in gathering ernment under such circumstances was to inaugugovernment and law.

But there was still another class at the North which disappointed the expectations of the Southendeavors would be contrary to the "right of revolution" as vindicated by our fathers and as es- titled to have the amount actually paid for such males have been beguiled or forced away, and three hun- serted in the Declaration of Independence. It is known that the New York Tribune was a constant payment. as well as an earnest exponent of this view, and said much in the winter of 1860-'61 to justify the hopes of the Southern agitators that they might at least count on its aid in procuring for them immunity from Federal attack. As early as the 9th of November, 1860, when the secession storm was brewing in the Southern heaven, the Tribune said :

"If the Cotton States shall become satisfied that they an do better out of the Union than in it, we insist on ting them go in peace. The right to secede may be a re from the Union is quite another matter; and whenever o go out, we shall resist all coercive measures designed to keep it in. We hope never to live in a Republic whereof ne section is pluned to another by bayonets

Seventeen days afterwards, on the 26th of No. vember, it held the following language :

"If the Cotton States unitedly and earnestly wish to slave the full amount designed for him by the original pro-viders of the fund, whether they be official or (as some aver) a society in the North which has been formed to ples enunciated in the immortal Declaration of Indepenence, contrary to the fundamental ideas on which human

On the 17th of December, when the secession 'orm had come to a head and was bursting over South Carolina, the Tribune said :

"If it (the Declaration of Independence) justified the secersion from the British Empire of three millions of colonists in 1776, we do not see why it would not justify the secession of five millions of Southrons from the Uni

And, after all the Cotton States had "seceded," on the 23d of February, 1861, it still beld over them the shield of the Declaration of Independence. Under that date it said :

"We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist, that add insult to injury, squads of negro soldiers perambulated the great principle embodied by Jeff-raon in the Declaratheir just power from the consent of the governed, is sound and just; and that, if the Slave States, the Cott-n States, or the Guif States only, choose to form an independent nation, they have a clear moral right to do so. . . . Whenever it shall be clear that the great body of the Southern people have become conclusively alien sted from the Union, and anxious to escape from it, we will do our best to for-

began, faithfully kept its promise to do its best to forward the views of the "alienated" among the Southern people, but it has not been by affirming their "clear moral right to form an independent nation." We understand the Tribune no longer concedes this right, and to this extent must be said to have misled the Southern disorganizers who the word of the southern disorganizers who the would be shown that the southern disorganizers who the work hundred miles above this point. The engagement resulted in the total rout of the enemy. They fought bravely in regular line of battle until a gallant charge of our entire force, led by our daving and intrepid General, Alfred Sully, drove them howling from the field, leaving one hundred miles above this point. The engagement resulted in the total rout of the enemy. They fought bravely in regular line of battle until a gallant charge of our entire force, led by our daving and intrepid General, Alfred Sully, drove them howling from the field, leaving one hundred miles above this point. The engagement resulted in the total rout of the enemy. They fought bravely in regular line of battle until a gallant charge of our entire force, led by our daving and intrepid General, Alfred Sully, drove them bowling from the field, leaving one hundred miles above this point. The engagement resulted in the total rout of the enemy. They fought bravely in regular line of battle until a gallant charge of our entire force, led by our daving and intrepid General, Alfred Sully, drove them bowling from the field, leaving one hundred miles above the four charge of our entire force, led by our daving and intrepid General, Alfred Sully, drove them bowling from the field, leaving one hundred miles above the field in the total rout of the enemy. They fought beautiful the field in the total rout of the enemy. counted on its support and co-operation. The mode of its support and co-operation has not been such as they were entitled to expect.

There is another distinguished advocate of the proceeded to action in the matter of dissolving the Union, they might rely upon him to resist any a tempt to "hold men forcibly in the Union." We the late Congressional Committee on the Conduct | mass of rubbish.

of the War. On the 4th of December, 1856, he held the following language in the Senate of the United States. [Cong. Globe, 3d Session, 34th Con-

gress. p. 25:]

"But Southern gentlemen stand here, and in almost all their speeches speak of the dissolution of the Union as an element of every argument, as though it were a peculiar condescension on their part that they permitted the Union to stand at all. If they do not feel interested in upholding this Union; if it really trenches on their right; if it enteres their institutions to such an extent that they cannot King," the manufacturing and maritime Powers feel secure under it; if their interests are violently assailed by means of this Union I am not one of these who expect that they will long continue under it. I am not one of those who would ask them to continue is such a Union. It would be doing violence to the platform of the party to which I belong. We have adopted the old Declaration of Independence as the basis of our political movements, which declares that any people, when their Government ceases to protect their rights, when it is so subverted from the true purposes of government as to oppress them, have the right to recur to fundamental principles, and, if need be, to destroy the Government under which they live, and to erect on its runs another more conducive to their by means of this Union I am not one of these who expect and to erect on its ruins another more conducive to their welfare. I hold that they have this right. I will not blame any people for exercising it, whenever they think the contingency has come. I certainly shall be the advocate of that same doctrine whenever I find that the principles of this Government have become so oppressive to the section to which I belong that a free prople ought not longer to endure it. You will not then find me backward in being the advocate of disunion; but that conting-ney never having come, I have never yet opened my mouth in opposition to the Union. I have never entertained a thought disloyal to this Union. But I say, for Heaven's sake, act, not talk. I am tired of this eternal din of 'dissolution of the Union' which is brought up on all occasions, and thrust into our faces, as though we of the North had some peculiar resson for maintaining the Union that welfare. I hold that they have this right. I will not some peculiar resson for maintaining the Union that the Southern States had not. I hope the I nion will con-inue forever. I believe it may continue forever. I see nothing at present which I think should dissolve it; but if other gentlemen see it, I say sgain that they have the same interest in maintaining this Union, in my judgment, that we of the North have. If they think they have uet, be it so. You cannot forcibly hold men in this Union; for the attempt to do so, it seems to me, would subvert the first principles of the Government under which we live."

AN INCAUTIOUS BLOW.

We find the following paragraph in the Boston Journal of the 16th instant:

"FREMONT'S PROCLAMATION.—Two years have elapsed since the issue by Gen. Fremont at St. Louis of his pro-clamation in which he declared free men the slaves of all clamation in which he declared free men the slaves of all persons in the State of Missouri who had taken up arms against the United States, or taken active part with their enemies in the field. It was received with disapprobation by all who sympathize with secession, and by those who hanker after a 'compromise,' auxious that slavery may live, though the Republic may die."

As Mr. LINCOLN received the proclamation of Gen. Fremont with so much "disapprobation" that he annulled if, we must infer, if the Journal is accurate in ascertaining the character of all who disapproved that paper, that the President at that time was a "sympathizer with secession"-a consequence which we accept with so much hesitation that we hope our loyal Republican contemporary will hasten to except the President from the category in which it has placed him. Though Mr. Lincoln disapproved the proclamation of Gen. Fremont, we incline to believe it was for the good and sufficient reason he assigned, and not because he had then, any more than now, that "sympathy with secession" or "hankering after a compromise" which the Journal attributes to those who concurred with him n his disapproval of the Fremont proclamation.

A CHANGE OF COMMAND.

By a general order just issued by the War Department the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Army Corps (Major Gens. McCook's and Crittenden's) have been consolidated into one corps, to be called the Fourth Army Corps, and Major Gen. Gordon Granger placed in command. A court of inquiry has been ordered to investigate the conduct of Gens. McCook and Crittenden in the late battles near Chattanooga. Gen. Granger commanded our reserves on that bloody field, and by his high soldierly abilities rendered immense aid to Gen. Thomas in covering the retreat of our army to Chattanooga.

DRAFT DECISION.

It has been decided by the Provost Marshal General that drafted men who have paid three hundred dollars without being examined, and are subsequently examined and found ntitled to exemption, can have the commutation money refunded. Those having substitutes in the s-rvice on March 3. 1863, and, being drafted, have paid commutation, are entitled to have it reimbursed. And those who, under these circumstances, have furnished substitutes, are enrefunded, on making a claim and producing the proof of

THE ORGANIZATION OF NEGRO TROOPS.

The Commissioner for organizing negro troops in the Department of the Cumberland announces as follows the classes of negroes and the terms upon which they will be enlisted into the service of the United States : lst. All freedmen who will volunteer.

2d. All slaves of rebels or disloyal masters who will volunteer to enlist will be free at the expiration of their term of service. 3d. All slaves of loyal citizens, with the consent of their owners, will be received into the service of the United States. Such slaves will be free on the expiration of their

term of service.
4th. Loyal masters will receive a certificate of the en-1stment of their slaves, which will entitle them to payment of a sum not exceeding the bounty now provided by law for the enlistment of white recruits.

5th. Colored soldiers will receive clothing, rations, and

ten dollars per month pay. Three dollars per month will be deducted for clothing.

THE EXPEDITION TO TEXAS.

The transport steamer Cabawba, from New Orleans on the 17th instant, arrived at New York on Saturday. Her passengers state that the troops which were engaged in the Sabine Pass expedition have been disembarked, and are to comprise a part of the expedition overland to Texas. These troops were on the departure of the steamer moving towards Brashear City and Berwick Bay, as rapidly as by the railroad transportation between Algiers and those points they could be sent forward. The force which originally was to go by that route will thus be so much strengthened as to render the expedition a formidable one It is also stated that our forces were crossing Rerwick Bay, with their trains, and that a part of the troops are already on their march westward. The occupation of l'exas is regarded in New Orleans as a fixel fact.

GENERAL SULLY'S EXPEDITION.

The Sioux City Register issued an extra September 15th containing the news of Gen. Sully's recent victory over the Indians in the extreme Northwest, where this officer is at present in command:

HEADQUARTERS DEPARTMENT. 30th Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. Camp near Fort Pierre, September 10, 1863. Camp near Fort Pierre, September 10, 1863.

Camp near Fort Pierre, September 10, 1863.

To Capt. S BAGG, Assistant Quartermaster, Slowx Ciry:

Enclosed you will find despatches which the General directs to be sent to the nearest telegraph station. They arrived to-high by special courier, and bring the news of a severe battle with the Indiana on the 3d instant, about two hundred miles above this point. The engagement resident in the total rout of the enemy.

TERRIFIC STEAM-BOILER EXLOSION.

BUFFALO, SEPT. 26.—This afternoon a steam boiler exploded in the establishment formerly known as Swartz's Iron Works, on Chicago street. The premises were ocwar against the insurgents who has in like manner cupied by E. & B. Holmes, as a cooper shop, and J. S. line. Part of Gen. Burnside's mounted force was engaged disappointed the hopes he once authorized them to Ruger & Co., and Thomas Parks, machinists. The buildcherish that when they "stopped talking" and ing was nearly destroyed. Thirty persons are supposed to be buried in the ruins. Several have been taken out dead, and others seriously injured.

BUFFALO, SEPT. 26, 6 P. M .- Seventeen workmen have already been taken out of the ruins, most of whom will allude to Senator Wade, of Ohi , the chairman of die. It is thought that there are still fifteen begeath the